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be retained. A southern Orokaiva would be indignant to hear himself described as Binandele or Mambare.

When Sir William MacGregor ascended the river Mambare in March 1894 he was greeted with cries of *Orokaiva!* from those who wished to be friendly. 'On the Mambare', he wrote, 'the password is "orokaiva", which seems to mean "man of peace". It, at all events, puts one on a friendly footing.'[1] Then apparently, as now, the native of the north was given to vociferous welcoming of his friends. Nowadays, when a party of travellers enters a village, men, women, and children will send up an irregular chorus of cries which may be almost deafening and disconcerting to a European, though it fails entirely to affect the *sangfroid* of a well-bred Papuan. Strangely enough the cry of *Orokaiva!* is heard now comparatively seldom. It has been supplanted by *Oro, oro!* which will be heard in almost every village.

It appears, however, that *Orokaiva!* was never the universal cry of the whole people. Different tribes had their distinctive cries of welcome. Among the Binandele it was commonly *Tepo Tepo!* which, as the word means 'empty' or in pidgin English 'for nothing', may be taken as a cry of reassurance from the villagers to their visitors. The conventional cry of the Aiga was *Javau javau!* with the second syllable of the word prolonged into a cacophonous shriek. Those who used it could give no interpretation of this startling mode of salutation. The 'Salt Water' People sometimes used the cries *Pesau!* and *Savesau!* I am told that at Bakumbari on the coast, for instance, visitors from the north would be hailed with *Pesau!* and those from the south with *Savesau!* and it was suggested that the former was the name of a certain fish, and that the latter meant 'swimmers', though in neither case was the appositeness of the words made at all clear. It is plain then that, prior to the coming of the whites, *Orokaiva!* was not universally used by the Binandele-speaking peoples.

The fact appears to be that the first explorers who penetrated the Mambare heard this cry, which they interpreted as one of peace or welcome, and accordingly took up as a

[1] *Annual Report*, 1893–4, p. 33.

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useful password. It is evident that they used it in prosecuting their explorations in parts where the cry was not even known, for an old man of the Aiga tribe told how on the first coming of the whites to his village they had entered shouting *Orokaiva, orokaiva!* and he, then a youngster, not knowing what they meant, had joined with the others in answering *Evari peka!* 'Sleep in peace!' To be short, however, the characteristic cry used by some of the people has been adopted as a name for all of them. Even now, it is true, a native of the north may refuse to acknowledge the appellation, and I know a diminutive armed constable who threatened assault on a Kiwai corporal solely because the latter had referred to him as an Orokaiva. But none of this need deter us from using what is a useful and happily chosen name.

The actual meaning of the word remains in doubt, though it is interesting to note that in modern speech it stands for native tobacco. Here again, however, a similar difficulty arises: is the name anterior to the coming of the whites, as some informants have maintained it is; or is it a comparatively modern transference of a name from the people to one of their distinctive possessions, viz. the inferior kind of tobacco? It may be worth adding that *oro* means 'men's house', and *kaiva*, a mysterious word, is the name of one of the principal kinds of taro.

Ethnic Neighbours

The ethnic neighbours of the Orokaiva may be briefly enumerated. (1) On the sea coast immediately to the south are a branch of the Okeina[1] who are in every respect closely akin to them. Beyond these are the Baruga people of the Bariji river who speak a different language and are culturally distinct, though generally similar in appearance. (2) In the Hydrographer Range and on the southern slopes of Mount Lamington are found the group of peoples commonly named 'Managalasi'. Between these and the Orokaiva the distinction is immediately apparent, not only in culture but also in physique. The Managalasi are as a rule lighter in

[1] Another group of this people occurs near Cape Nelson, North-Eastern Division.

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grief, and its last moments were no doubt rendered fewer and more uncomfortable by the attentions of its relatives.

When the victim of this solicitude is finally dead, he is stretched out on his back. His face is painted and his head decorated with ornaments and a feather head-dress. Some of these will be buried with him; but his children will remove and keep the more valuable. The corpse of a man is entirely naked; that of a woman wears a *bo*.

If the deceased be a man of any importance, his body is laid out on a sloping platform (*babari*) in the village. It is made of logs set at an angle of about 20 degrees, and the corpse is laid upon it feet downwards and with arms outstretched. This *babari* is said to be meant for the convenience of the mourners who wish to embrace the corpse.

The posthumous honour of a *babari* is denied to a woman for a curious reason which I have heard several times repeated. Women are too fond of *bivije* or adulterous intercourse, and are therefore undeserving of the dignity of an elevated position. They are laid on a mat on the ground, and the only real regret for them is said to be on the part of those who have enjoyed their favours. And since these latter are ashamed to weep for fear of betraying themselves, the woman goes unwept and unhonoured to her grave. This explanation, needless to say, was derived from male informants, and, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief at a woman's death are hardly less extravagant than at a man's.

The mourners flock in from all villages in the neighbourhood, pausing on the way to smear themselves with mud, *pusu* (from which they get the name of *pusu-embo* or 'muddy men'). They desert their gardens or whatever work they have in hand at the sound of the *bui*, which repeatedly gives a very long-drawn note as a signal of death. Their attendance is not entirely obligatory, but it is regarded as a matter of decency to attend the funeral of a neighbour: and the relatives of the deceased will be offended if there is not a large muster. It is to be suspected, moreover, that the mourners derive some satisfaction from the very exuberant way they have of showing their grief, and, in the case of the

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The distinction is simply between fellow men and men who are not fellows.

Extra-Group Morality

Since the interest of this chapter will be principally with intra-group morality we may dismiss the other side of the question rather briefly. We have seen that the Orokaiva tribe lived in a state of ever-recurring warfare with some or other of its neighbours. There were peace-makings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no village lived in permanent security. The Orokaiva achieved and probably deserved a warlike reputation, and in such conditions it is not surprising that they should set some store upon the virtue of bravery—though it does not seem to take the foremost place that we might expect. A brave warrior was called *koropa-embo*, a 'spearman', or *ivu-embu*, a 'manly man', *ivu* being the word for husband or a fully matured man. Another term is *sarika*, which is perhaps best translated 'formidable', and connotes not only fierceness but size and strength. (By way of example one of the late magistrates of the Division was called *sarika* on account of stature, and another on account of his severity.) A coward is called *atoba-embo* or *jouro-buso*, and of course there are to be found some cowards among a generally brave race. Some of my informants in one village named a few men as *atoba* (and it is interesting to note in passing that, like true native gentlemen, they named them in whispers for fear the men in question should overhear and have their feelings hurt).

But more striking than any bravery is the sheer bloodthirstiness which seems actually to be raised to the status of a virtue. It is not for fearlessness that the insignia called *esa* or *otoiu* (p. 177) are bestowed, but for the mere taking of human life. Many an old warrior, counting over his victims, will show as great a pride in the slaughter of women and children as in a man-to-man victory; and indeed the majority of Orokaiva victims have met their end in surprise and massacre rather than in fair fight. While I have found no evidence to show that the Orokaiva was expected some-

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577 ber noting the fondness of one man for his son, an attractive
157 boy of six or seven years. Asked whether he ever beat the
183 child he said, 'No; his first son had gone to work on a plantation and had died there. How could he beat his second son?' On the whole it may be said that the Orokaiva hold up good temper and kindness as a virtue, a thing which society demands from the individual; and on the whole, again, they carry out that ideal to a greater extent than is popularly supposed.

183 Along with this ideal goes that of *dignity* or weight, very
156 much akin to the classical *gravitas*. A man is admired if he can make his personality felt, but in so doing he must not make a nuisance of himself. He may fulminate against the enemy, and will even be praised for it; but at home he does better to play the role of strong silent man. Such characters are undoubtedly admired, though one cannot profess to discover any consistent expression of the ideal. The gravest *paterfamilias* will on occasion cast aside restraint and become a ranter, and does so, too, without losing his dignity in the eyes of the village. But a chatterbox, or one who reveals his excitability too frequently, is under ordinary circumstances regarded as a bore.

576 Another ideal is that of *courtesy*, and by this I mean some-
183 thing wider than mere politeness. Indeed, of formal polite-
156 ness as we know it ourselves there is rather a conspicuous absence. The Orokaiva is off-hand when he does a kindness, and apparently indifferent when he receives one. He does not offer his friend a betel-nut with a bow and a smile, but throws it surlily across; and the friend does not say thank you, but picks it up and tears the husk off with his teeth, vouchsafing neither word nor even look to the man who gave it. But—and this is the best thing we can say of the native—there is a very high and constant regard for others' feelings. Towards the enemy you may point the fingers and twist or screw the hand in the infamous gesture called *gingi gongo*, and call him the child of a devil-devil, or even tell him he has a scraggy neck; but it is only in the extremity of rage that a man would insult his clansman or fellow villager. To point at a man is out of taste; to swear at him would be to

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provoke an open breach; to gibe at his personal deformity would be the last blow. Baldness, for instance, is regarded as unseemly and ridiculous; but there are no Elishas and no mocking children. It is not of course to be supposed that men of the same group never bandy words, yet rudeness and abuse are always deprecated. Ordinarily the native, who is keenly enough alive to the peculiarities of his fellow, will only refer to them behind his back, and this for no other reason than to avoid doing injury to his feelings. Roughness or rudeness is said to produce in its victim that emotion, or complex of emotions, called *meh*, which we usually and somewhat inadequately translate 'shame', and it is regarded as a serious thing; so much so that if a man commits an unjustifiable affront, not only does the victim suffer, but the culprit's fellows, who feel they share his responsibility, will be positively covered with vicarious *meh*.

We may now turn to the consideration of *practical honesty*. One cannot claim that there is here any high abstract ideal. The native certainly feels no moral obligation to tell the truth in all circumstances—as who should know better than one who spends his time in questioning them? But honesty is a virtue at least in the limited and practical sense of respect for property. Petty thieving is common enough and is treated with a good deal of tolerance, though, considering the absolutely unguarded condition in which property is commonly left, the general honesty of a native village may impress one rather favourably, and would certainly bear comparison with that of a civilized community. It is probably true that as European influence first extends among a primitive people, the decrease in crimes of violence is more than countered by an increase in thieving and other crimes of stealth, and whatever the cause of this latter condition, it implies the decay of one primitive virtue. It is at any rate the common experience of Europeans that the more sophisticated natives are more inclined to steal.

Lastly, we may refer briefly to *married chastity*. Among the Orokaiva a woman is expected to be faithful, even during long absences of her husband. There is no bartering or lending of wives, and the only exception is during the cere-

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powers of healing. There are many more food taboos. Some of them may well enough be survivals from the *Baigona* cult (which placed a prohibition upon almost all creeping things), as they appear to have no very obvious bearing on Taro. Certain kinds of the taro itself were held to be injurious—only so, indeed, since the institution of the cult, for previously these forbidden varieties were eaten without any untoward result; Mr. Elder says they were given to his mission boys, 'who being unbelievers thrived on them'.

The taboo upon bathing has already been mentioned. It was evidently observed with a certain strictness and, in some cases at least, a breach of the taboo meant more than the mere loss of power. One Taro man of importance gave the following explanation for a lameness in the knee which had crippled him for eight months. Having used his spear too effectively in a village fight he was removed to jail, and there, under a regimen which took no heed of his priestly obligations, compelled to cut his hair and wash the smears of mud and white ochre off his body. The unfortunate prisoner's explanation still leaves one mystified: the dirt, mud, and paint being washed off the remainder of his body, concentrated in his knee and there brought on his lameness.

One important business of the Taro man's, viz. that of curing, will receive a fuller treatment in section 9, and is mentioned here only because it has to be included in a general list of Taro activities. A few additional matters of minor interest, however, may be referred to at this stage. One is the custom of hand-shaking. I am assured that the hand-grip was known as a form of greeting long before the advent of the new cult; but now it has become a rage. When a Taro man comes upon a number of men engaged in conversation and sitting, after their fashion, in a haphazard group on the ground, he will go from one to another and take the hand of each in turn. As a rule the hand-clasp is somewhat limp and unresponsive, though on occasion one may see two

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Taro men seize one another's hands in an iron grasp, and both fall into a violent paroxysm. In such cases, it is said, the knowledge that the one is possessed passes to the other with the first contact of their hands, and then, for some reason, both fall into the condition of *jipari*.

The reason for universal hand-shaking is said to be that of ensuring the friendliness of the Taro man. I have suggested that this general amity among all followers of the cult was one of its best features. It may be, however, that the basis for it is not entirely above suspicion. The explanation more commonly offered is that the spirits require all and sundry to remain on good terms with their human media, the Taro men; they may be offended and cause some illness to any one who is disrespectful or off-hand in his manner. On the whole, however, it may be the Taro man himself who is the real object of fear, and all others will see to it that they 'keep in' with him lest he do them a bad turn. The charge of sorcery will call for further discussion presently.

Lastly, there is the matter of the distinctive cries of the Taro cult. In an Orokaiva village it is the custom to welcome new-comers with loud cries, which in their origin probably signify that the intentions of the villagers are peaceable. As is well known, it was the cry of '*Orokaiva!*' which gave their popular name to the northern tribes, because the early whites heard it so often as they approached a village. Different tribes had different calls: to some the cry '*Oro!*' (which is much more commonly heard than '*Orokaiva!*') was not known until popularized by the *Baigona* cult. With the advent of the Taro cult there came into vogue a new call, '*Oroda!*' or '*Orota!*' sometimes '*Orodara!*' which has now become a shibboleth. Wherever one hears '*Oroda!*' it is safe to assume the Taro cult has penetrated. The derivative meaning of the word is matter for conjecture only. '*Oro*' means the 'men's house' in the Binandale languages, and perhaps the ultimate meaning of the word is 'men'. But we cannot assume with certainty that *oro* the men's house

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and *oro* the cry of welcome are the same words. *Oroda* appears to be simply *oro* with the associative particle *da*.

Another very quaint Taro password is '*Kia kia!*', uttered as a man is yawning, much as we would say, 'Oh dear!' No witness ever succeeded in explaining this curious custom, which, as far as I know, belongs to the Taro cult alone. It provides a good instance of the way in which details of practice are faithfully transmitted while their significance is entirely lost. A number of other Taro expressions have come into popular use in the same way. *Kasamba* and *tinogu* have been mentioned already, but there were numerous fictitious synonyms, possibly of a respectful or euphemistic character, which achieved some popularity although they were probably learned simply by rote. I am indebted to Mr. Elder for several examples: the dog (*sino*) was called *eupu*; sago (*ambe*) was called *orai*; and pigs (*pu*) were called *puyoroba*.

8. *The Jipari or Shaking-fit*

I now have to deal with what is the most disagreeable feature of the cult, viz. the uncontrolled bodily movements or paroxysms which, unfortunately, the Taro man believes to be an important part of his 'work'. These paroxysms were characteristic of the *Baigona* cult before, though they then took a form somewhat different. The word used by the *Baigona* men to describe this condition was usually *dutari*, to tremble. It might be used of the ague or shivering fit which is merely the result of cold; for instance, a youth after spending a long time in the river in pursuit of eels, was said to *dutari* when he was merely shivering violently. The expression most commonly employed for the shaking-fit of the Taro indicates a somewhat different style. *Jipari* is used of the sling (*tapai*) as it is whirled before the stone is released; also of a branch swaying or swinging in the wind. There is a certain well-known character among the Tain Daware tribe who is named Jipari. As so often among the

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brothers on a raid, telling her to wait for his home-coming, when he would marry her. In due time he came back to the girl's house, far ahead of the others, to tell her that the raiders had been victorious and to take her away to his home. As they set off he bade her go in front, but looking over her shoulder the girl saw him jerking his head and stamping his foot, and finally noticed a trickle of blood from his ear. At that she became alarmed, left her husband on the track, and ran back to the village where she found the raiders bringing in his corpse. Real *diroga* jerk their heads, so should not *Diroga* men do the same?

The dance of the *Diroga* men has already been described (p. 20). With its swift advance and retreat, its dodging and sallying, and its truculent, threatening air, the performance seems to reproduce the attack of the fierce Orokaiva warrior. No native has offered an explanation, but it seems that the warlike nature of the dance is supposedly due to the possession of the dancers by warrior spirits.

The spears have become an emblem of the *Diroga* cult. Many, if not all of them, are found to bear personal names—the names in fact of the actual *diroga* which possess their owners. They are in fact symbols of the dead warriors. It is said, indeed, that 'the spears are men'. This makes clear the practice of gripping or stroking the spear-point. The universal hand-shaking of Taro men has been referred to. With *Diroga* men it is customary to touch their spear-points as well as to shake them by the hand: this, I am told, is a salutation to the *diroga* which is symbolized by the spear. If a man neglect this observance he may fall sick, because he has offended the *diroga*.

It has been said that the profession of curing is more pronounced among the *Diroga* men than among the ordinary followers of the Taro cult. The methods are, however, the same as those previously described, with special emphasis on the use of the spear (p. 60). With